1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re-

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order to determine the cause of death.[17] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupins*, representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by relatives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[17] According to Edwards (1929, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *cupolave*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machis* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1892 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 365–70).

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. Skill in oratory and associated arts was once [622 537] a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

[101]

[1] For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2] Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3] Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Housse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

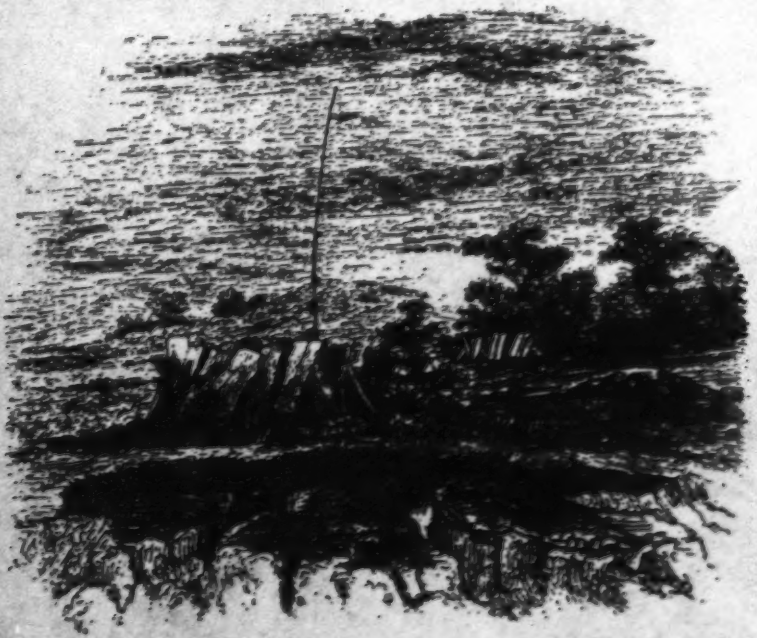

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collón: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and premiated as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ŋillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.)

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7).

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü."

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic family; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696).

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 622 202 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing, also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. 22, *2* and *3*.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. At-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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tentive listeners signified approval with hand clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in oratorical fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used force, he said, in proper places, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generations of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in Alepún could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numerals also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 802

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 734). The 100-year-old Cofaripe man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one meant two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Panguipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they meant three of a kind. [711]

TABLE 1.—*Numerals in Araucanian* (Chile)

1 kiñe	11 mari-kiñe	31 kiñe-mari-kiñe	200 pataka-epu
2 epu	12 mari-epu	40 meli-mari	199 pataka-kayñe-mari-kayñe
3 kiñe	13 mari-kiñe	50 kechu-mari	
4 meli	19 mari-kayñe	60 kayu-mari	200 epu-pataka
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	70 reqle-mari	300 kiñe-pataka
6 kayñ	21 epu-mari-kiñe	80 pura-mari	400 meli-pataka
7 reqle	22 epu-mari-epu	90 kayñe-mari	500 kayñe-pataka
8 pura	28 epu-mari-pura	99 kayñe-mari-kayñe	599 kayñe-pataka-kayñe-mari-kayñe
9 kayñe	29 epu-mari-kayñe	100 pataka	
10 mari	30 kiñe-mari	101 pataka-kiñe	1000 mari-pataka

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. *None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation* as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Sailo, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Maxwell Malal and in Vega Valle, Collúm Có, Quiloquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junín de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Sailo chalked several (pl. 69, *a*).

Pictographs seen by Sailo in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quiloquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Malaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primivera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Sailo observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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537 [202] man in training was sent as messenger by his cacique, or another person, to another cacique. When he was older, he was one of those who delivered addresses and made announcements to the assembled people. Kolupan was trained in oratory by his father. He said of himself: "I was an intelligent young man, full of life and full of energy. My father recognized my intelligence and taught me how to speak. He would give me an order to go somewhere, maybe to a cacique, and then tell me exactly what I was to say. I had to repeat to him what he had said and in the same tone of voice in which he had said it. In this way I learned not only how to carry messages to men of importance, like caciques, and how to deliver an address, but also how to speak good Araucanian.—I cannot pronounce words well today, because I have lost my front teeth.—Caciques to whom I was sent always received me with much courtesy. This gave me a feeling of distinction. I was about 22 years old when I first began to carry messages between caciques. I had great respect for my father. He was a most intelligent man."

COUNTING

802 There is no zero. Numerals in Argentine Araucanian are given in table 7. (See table 1 for Chilean Araucanian numerals.)

TABLE 7.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Argentina)*

1 kiñe	10 mari	50 kechu-mari
2 epu	11 mari-kiñe	60 kayu-mari
3 küla (or kla)	12 mari-epu	70 reǫle-mari
4 meli	13 mari-küla (or mari-kla)	80 pura-mari
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	90 ailla-mari
6 kayü	21 epu-mari-kiñe	100 pataka
7 reǫle	22 epu-mari-epu	200 epu-pataka
8 pura	30 kla-mari	300 kla-pataka
9 ailla	40 meli-mari	1,000 waraqka

Children count on their fingers; if the number is greater than 10, they count on toes also. Adults were seen counting by touching the fingernails of one hand for counting to 5, then touching the second knuckles of the same hand for counting to 10, and the fingernails and knuckles of the other hand for numbers greater than 10. Counting was generally done from thumb to little finger. "If I were young and agile and barefoot," said a 50-year-old man, "I would use my toes to count from 10 to 20"—something other adults said was seldom done except by children.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin* (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin* had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

796 ### *The Fertility Rite:* Ñillatun

[178] The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_8, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calfícura's message relating to the foray on the settlements